

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe



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OCTOBER 18, 1933

Federation of Labor Urges Shorter Hours

Leaders Push Further Measures to Combat Unemployment Caused by Use of Machines

11,000,000 ARE STILL JOBLESS

Technical Advances Blamed for Limited Success Gained by Recovery Act

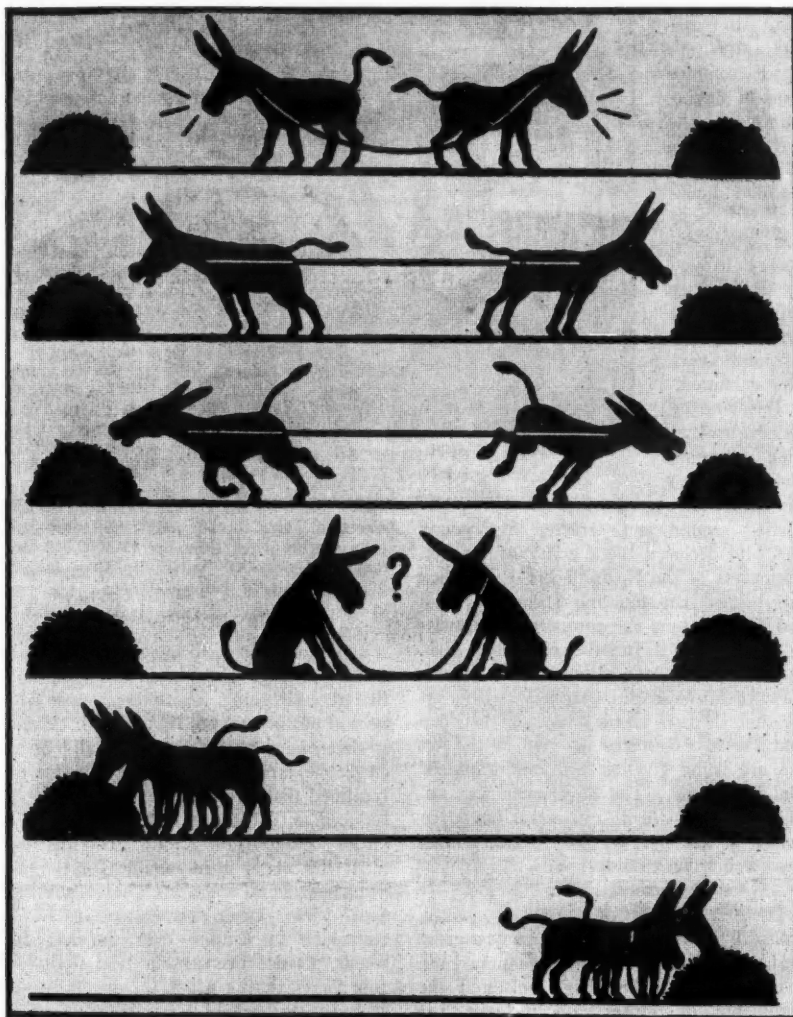
The American Federation of Labor held a convention in Washington last week and discussed the problems of the country's workers. This was an annual convention. Once every year delegates from the different unions which together make up the American Federation of Labor, or the A. F. of L., as it is called, get together to talk over problems and policies. Usually the general public pays little attention to these labor meetings, but this year interest was nation-wide. The reason is that we are in the midst of a great national crisis. The attempt is being made to pull the country out of depression. If this is to be done the different classes of the population, the workers, business men, farmers and all the rest, must work together with the government in a coöperative way. Just how we are to work our way toward better times is not yet clear. Many policies are in the process of formation and so we all watch closely to see what business men or farmers or workers are demanding—what policies they are advocating.

The Voice of Labor

We can tell quite a little about what the workers of the nation are thinking by listening to the debates of the A. F. of L. convention. Of course, the A. F. of L. does not speak for all the workers of the country. They do not all belong to unions. Only a small fraction of them do. And not all the labor unions of the country belong to the American Federation of Labor. There are unions which stand outside that organization, as we shall see a little later. But a very large per cent of the more skilled workers, the ones who naturally have the most influence upon public opinion, belong to unions which are in the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. does, therefore, lead the labor movement in a way that no other organization does. Its voice is more nearly the voice of American labor than is that of any other organization or body of men. The unions which go together to make up the A. F. of L. have more than 3,000,000 members, and the number is at this time rapidly increasing.

Let us turn, therefore, to the convention with its 600 delegates representing many different unions, many different kinds of labor, to see what these national leaders of labor are demanding. This program of labor was announced by William Green, who for nine years has been president of the Federation. For one thing, Mr. Green called upon labor to oppose the unrestrained inflation of the currency. It is easy to see why those who work for wages should oppose currency inflation. If the currency is inflated—if more money is put into circulation—it is to be expected that each dollar will be worth less. It will buy less goods. In other words, prices will rise. Workers who receive a certain number of

(Concluded on page 7, column 1)



THE TWO MULES—A LESSON IN CO-OPERATION

Cooperation

It is sometimes said that the peoples of the world want peace, while the governments, especially the diplomats, drive the nations toward war. This statement is probably unfair. The peoples of the world do, indeed, want peace and so do their representatives, the diplomats. There are few persons, either in high position or in low, who desire war for its own sake, or who would enter into it wantonly. The trouble is that the diplomats, and the common people as well, are too often unwilling to pay the price of peace. The price is coöperation for the common good of all. It involves, sometimes, sacrifices by individual nations. All coöperation does that. And seldom do we find the people of any nation willing to make a sacrifice in order that the common good among the nations may be advanced. If a debate is on as to whether some proposed action involving international relations should be adopted and if one side argues effectively that such action would contribute to the well-being of nearly all of the peoples of the world, and the other side argues effectively that the proposed action would involve a loss, however slight, to our own country, the debater taking this last position would in almost every case receive the greater hand and also the decision. It is of course true, in international relations, as in private relations, that no nation and no individual is called upon to destroy his own opportunities merely that opportunities may come to others. It is a fact equally true, however, that our associated life is a matter of give and take. Each one must refrain from doing some things he would like to do in order that others may avoid inconvenience. He is obliged to do some things he would prefer not to do in order that others may be well served. In the long run each individual will profit by that kind of give and take, by that kind of associated effort. And so will nations profit by it. We live in a world where no man and no nation can stand alone. If a nation insists upon having its own way and upon gaining some small advantage in trade, it may throw discord among the governments. War may eventually result and that may mean something like the end of civilization for all of us. The individual who insists upon having everything that he wants eventually becomes an outcast. Those who are willing to share, to give up now and then, to think of the common good as well as their own good, will enjoy the favor of their associates. They will share generously in the good things of life and they will have the satisfaction of having contributed to the well-being of others.

Nazi Germany Loses Sympathy in Europe

Jewish Question and Unyielding Demand for Armaments Equality Isolate Country

FRENCH DO NOT TRUST HITLER

Fear War in Future but Germans Say They Only Desire Equal Status

In recent weeks three major developments in Europe have kept Germany in a prominent position before the eyes of the world. First, there are the disarmament negotiations, brought to a deadlock by Germany's demand for immediate equality in armaments with other powers. Secondly, there is the interest which the League of Nations Assembly has taken in the problem of the German Jew. And finally, international attention is still fastened on the famous Leipzig trial, in which five Germans, said by the Nazis to be communists, are accused of having burned the Reichstag building just prior to the election of last March.

European Position Reversed

To all who have been following the European political situation, it is apparent that each of these events throws an unfavorable light upon Germany. The new government of Adolf Hitler is undoubtedly unpopular among neighboring countries. It is a very different state of affairs from the one which existed only eight short months ago, before Hitler came into power. At that time it was generally admitted that Germany enjoyed the sympathy and friendship of such powerful countries as Great Britain and Italy. On the other hand, France, which since the war had become the strongest power in Europe, was generally disliked. Both Britain and Italy were anxious to see removed some of the burdens which had been placed upon the German people as a result of the war. Germany had friends.

But today, as we look at Europe, we find that the shoe is on the other foot. Now it is France which has the support of Great Britain and Italy. Germany is isolated. Sentiment throughout Europe has turned against that country, now that Adolf Hitler holds the reins of government. The German chancellor's practices and policies, while they may enjoy the enthusiastic support of practically all Germans, are frowned upon by all those who have a sincere interest in the tranquillity of Europe. The practices and policies to which we refer are reflected in the three major developments mentioned above. Let us consider first the question of the German Jew.

Hitler Policy

When the elections of March 5 conferred full power on Hitler, his ardent followers began a campaign against his enemies. Jews, socialists, communists, were deprived of many of their civil rights. In the early days startling stories of atrocities committed against these opponents of Hitler were circulated abroad. Frequent incidents of brutality and outright murder were cited. A world-wide protest against what was termed a reign of terror was inaugurated. Particularly vociferous were the Jews in all countries. They demanded everywhere that an international boycott

be launched to oblige the Nazis to cease their terroristic tactics.

The Nazis were prompt to deny the charges. They insisted that the lurid tales were mostly false and that they were being spread in order to arouse sentiment against Hitler. They admitted that in some cases physical injury had been inflicted on enemies of the Hitler government. But they claimed that some outbursts could not be prevented under the stress of the tremendous enthusiasm which was current in Germany. This, it was said, was soon brought under control, and from then on mistreatment ceased.

It may be that the real facts about what has taken place in Germany will never be fully known. The Hitler government had muzzled the press and it was difficult to obtain impartial, exact information. It is a fact, however, that from 50,000 to 60,000 Germans, mostly Jews, have fled from Germany. It is also known that there are a number of barbed-wire concentration camps in Germany, in which are herded the enemies of the government, particularly the communists and socialists. And it is also beyond contention that the German government by proclamation has deprived many Germans of rights and privileges which are everywhere recognized as being essential to the enjoyment of full citizenship.

Before League

There has thus been some basis for the resentment against Germany which has piled up in all parts of the world. Jews outside of the country have felt that their brethren are being mistreated and have been consistently indignant. The problem has at length been brought to the attention of the League of Nations. Two resolutions were pushed last week before separate Assembly committees. The first, introduced by the Netherlands, would have the League establish a special commission to look after German refugees. It is said that the influx of Germans into other European nations is creating a difficult problem. They nearly always have no money and they cannot find work because of the widespread unemployment. This commission would seek ways and means of helping the refugees.

The second resolution was introduced by France. Stripped of its technicalities it would bring legal pressure to bear upon Germany to oblige her to treat all German subjects with justice and tolerance. The German government would be guilty of a breach of international law if it should oppress Jews or other German subjects.

Germany, of course, fought against these resolutions in the League committee hearings. She declared that she did not object to the rendering of help to refugees, provided the commission charged with the work were not under the League of Nations. If the League took a hand it would look as though Germany were being blamed. With reference to the second resolution, the Germans claimed that the German Jew constituted a special problem and could not be brought into the scope of a resolution such as that suggested by the French. The German delegates stated they would vote against the resolutions if proposed in those forms. This would serve to kill them because a decision of this kind, in the League, must be by unanimous consent. It was believed, therefore, that the resolutions would be rewritten and rendered completely inoffensive to Germany. The nations were not disappointed in this. They never really expected to pass the resolutions as presented but only wanted to give publicity to the problem.

Just as the League has brought the Jewish question into the limelight, so the

Leipzig trial has centered attention on the position of the communists in Germany. They, above all others, are Hitler's bitterest enemies. If the Jews have been harmed, the communists have been doubly mistreated. They do not, however, have as many friends abroad to take up their cause. But people in all countries have become incensed recently because of the attempt on the part of the Hitler government to convict five alleged communists of having burned the Reichstag building. The German house of parliament was mysteriously destroyed by fire shortly before the last elections. A hue and cry was immediately set up by the Nazis that the communists had set the fire. Police

hurried around and arrested five young men and declared them guilty of the act. Opponents of the Nazis declared that they had burned the building themselves and had blamed it on the communists in order to gain strength for the election. Here again the facts are obscured. It is difficult to say who did destroy the Reichstag, but there is ample evidence to prove that the five Germans accused of the act are not being given a fair and impartial trial in Leipzig. The government is anxious to convict them, and seems bound to do so, in spite of the loud protest which has come from all sides.

Arms Question

These evidences of intolerance have, politically speaking, done Germany a great deal of harm since Hitler first assumed the chancellorship. They have bolstered the arguments of those who disfavor the National Socialist theory of government. Hitler is immensely disliked and feared in Europe. Had his tactics been different it is likely that Austria would have soon moved to unite with Germany. But the stories which came out of Germany caused a change of sentiment among many Austrians and gave Dollfuss just the support he needed to continue his opposition to Germany.

But aside from this Hitler has made

peaceful measures. It is true that since he assumed the chancellorship, Hitler has subdued his tone, but still he is not trusted. It is pointed out that he has recently published an autobiography which every German member of the Nazi party is obliged to read. It is to be his guidebook for the future. In this autobiography, entitled

"My Battle," there are to be found such statements as the following:

It must be understood that in general the will of the German nation should no longer be limited to mere passive defense, but on the contrary should be steered for a final, active settlement with France in a death grapple for the realization of the German aims.

In the annihilation of France, Germany sees merely the means for the nation to obtain full development in another

direction. Our foreign policy will only have been correct when there are 250,000,000 Germans, not crowded like coolies in a factory, but free peasants and workers.

Foreign Reaction

It is not difficult to imagine the reaction of the average Frenchman to paragraphs like the foregoing. Hitler may say what he will but he will not be believed. France is determined that Germany shall not increase her armaments, and is likewise determined that French defenses shall not be reduced until there is convincing proof of Hitler's peaceful intentions. This development has made it impossible for the disarmament conference to achieve anything worth while. During the discussions among statesmen in Europe over the last few weeks, France proposed a trial period of four years, during which the armaments of each country would be subject to supervision by a special commission. If, after these four years, Germany had proved her good faith, then it would be time enough to reduce armaments.

The proposal was made to Germany and was promptly turned down, although it won the support of Great Britain, Italy and the United States. The Germans replied by demanding that armament reduction should begin before the end of the four-year period and that Germany should

since the war and that if the disarmament conference failed, Europe would surely march on to another conflict.

Thus, briefly, Hitler has succeeded in making Germany's international position more difficult than it has been at any time since the war. People are wondering what he has in mind to have so alienated other countries from his own. He cannot be thinking of immediate war with France. Germany is too weak to fight and she has no allies. There is no doubt that Hitler is anxious to avoid trouble. But he feels, and all Germans feel the same, that Germany has been held down since the war and that now the time has come to right matters. The Treaty of Versailles disarmed Germany but it also contained a pledge that the other powers would soon reduce their own armaments. However, fourteen years have passed and no real step has been taken toward reducing armaments. The patience of Germany has at length become exhausted. The Germans want action and it is for this reason that they placed Hitler at the head of the government. Hitler stands to make himself less popular at home if he gives in to the French.

Essentially both countries are fighting for safety, but their ideas of safety run counter to each other. The Germans do not feel safe disarmed and the French would not feel safe if the Germans were armed. Every attempt to reconcile the two points of view has resulted in a deadlock. So long as the two nations do not learn to trust each other there seems scant hope for any security in Europe.

RECENT NRA DEVELOPMENTS

(Concluded from page 8, column 4)

even after the codes have been promulgated. In all code hearings, it sends representatives to insist that no provisions harmful to consumers are included. It was at the hearings on the retail code that members of this board became particularly vociferous in denouncing the price-fixing provisions, feeling that this would injure the consumers. After the codes have been adopted, the board watches prices and the quality of merchandise sold with a view to determining whether the consumers' interests are being protected. If they are not, it recommends adjustments to the head of the NRA.

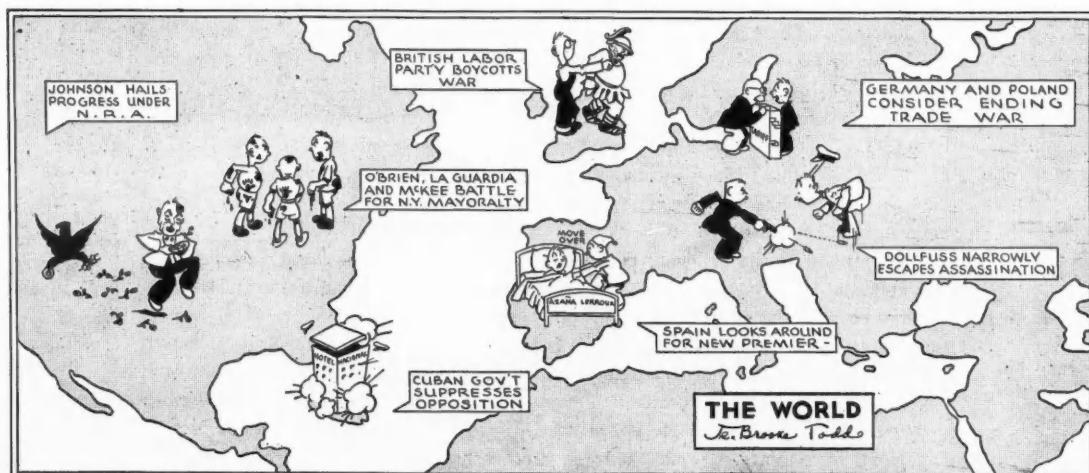
These two groups, together with the National Labor Board, the functions of which we discussed last week, in a way form the very backbone of the entire NRA organization. It is their task to work for the regulation of industry in such a way as to protect the interests of the three great classes of the population, producers, consumers and workers. It is to be noted that throughout

the NRA organization, whether it be in the national, state or local field, these three groups are adequately represented. This is the only way that domination of one particular class was to be avoided in launching this gigantic experiment of industrial control.

During the weeks immediately ahead, NRA officials will devote a great deal of attention to the question of reemployment. General Johnson and his aides are fully aware that the reemployment has not been so great as was estimated a few months ago. They are also conscious of the increased criticism leveled against them as a result of the heavy unemployment still existing. This state of affairs has placed upon the NRA the responsibility of doing everything within its power to speed the recovery movement in which it must necessarily play such an important part. General Johnson and his assistants are consequently considering every possible means of achieving their objective.



DANGEROUS FIREWORKS
—Kirby in N. Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM



AROUND THE WORLD WITH THE AMERICAN OBSERVER CARTOONIST

himself unpopular through his demands that Germany be accorded equality in armaments with other powers. Naturally France opposes this because she has been hearing Hitler say for years that the Treaty of Versailles must be destroyed and that Germany must regain her lost territories, by force if it cannot be done by

have absolute equality with other powers by the end of that time. The deadlock produced by this demand was so strong that it held possible that the disarmament conference, scheduled to meet on October 16, would be postponed and perhaps abandoned entirely. Observers declared that the crisis produced was the most serious



ANY believe that just as soon as prohibition is repealed distilled liquors will be sold in every state. This is not true. There are twenty-eight states which have laws prohibiting the sale of hard liquors. These state laws will not be affected by repeal of national prohibition. In fact the national government is pledged to protect these states against the importation of liquors into their boundaries. Thus with the country half dry and half wet, in an alcoholic sense, serious problems are bound to come up.



JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

A study of the many issues connected with the liquor question has been sponsored by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. He recently financed a committee which has gone into every phase of the problem. This committee came to the conclusion that every state, regardless of whether a majority within its boundaries is for prohibition, should make provisions for those who desire to obtain moderate amounts of alcoholic beverages. Otherwise, according to the committee, bootlegging will continue in states having prohibition. The committee also contends that private profit should be entirely eliminated in the liquor industry. It believes that state distributing agencies should be set up to handle the business. Private liquor companies will do everything in their power to increase liquor consumption, the committee declares, while state agencies would be more likely to control advertising and in general to manage the trade in such a way as to minimize the sale of intoxicating liquors.

The committee goes on to say: "Education in its broadest sense has a greater part to play in creating a sober nation than has legislative enactment. Temperance lies in the character, standards and self-discipline of individual men and women. Education is a slow process, but it carries a heavier share of the burden of social control than legal coercion."

Step for Peace

The British Labor party recently held its annual convention. A unanimous resolution was adopted by the delegates to the effect that the Labor party would take no part in any future war unless English soil should be invaded. This is a rather startling decision to be made by a political party with a normal voting strength of about 8,000,000. And yet the student bodies of several of England's large universities have also agreed not to fight for their country unless it is invaded. The reason given by the Labor party and the student bodies for their attitude of pacifism is that the last war brought about most of our present economic troubles. They contend that there is not such a thing as a war victory, because every nation loses in the end, just as the United States, France and England are still suffering the economic consequences of the World War.

Stratosphere Airplanes

French and German aviation companies are attempting to construct stratosphere airplanes; that is, planes that can soar high into the heavens. These experiments in plane construction are being made because it has been definitely proved by balloon flights that the upper spaces are perfectly serene, free from any trace of wind. Therefore, if planes could be built so that they could fly through thin air at heights of from ten to twelve miles, they could travel much more swiftly and would avoid all danger of storms. It is terribly cold at such heights, however, and planes would have to be specially equipped and designed for this kind of flying. We shall probably hear more about the French and German experiments along this line in the near future.

Painless Deaths

Should people who have incurable diseases and whose last days are spent in acute misery, be relieved of their sufferings by painless death measures? The Ministry of Justice in Germany believes they should. In fact it is planning to adopt a law to this effect. Only those "incurables" who desire their lives to be taken, however, or those whose nearest relatives request it for humane reasons,

Following the News

are expected to be affected by this proposed law. Moreover, rigid examinations by official doctors will be required before any voluntary deaths are permitted.

War Debt Negotiations

War debt negotiations between England and the United States are now being carried on in earnest. The British delegation, headed by Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, is in Washington going over the whole debt matter with United States Treasury officials. No proposals have yet been offered. Meanwhile, the time is drawing nearer for England's next installment, which is due December 15. It is thought that this will be merely a "token" payment, like the one last June, amounting to only a fraction of what is owed. Then Congress, which has full authority over the war debts owed to this country, will consider any British proposals for a new settlement of their war obligations.

President's Power of Removal?

A dispute has arisen between President Roosevelt and William E. Humphrey, a Republican member of the Federal Trade Commission. Since last July, President Roosevelt has been asking for Mr. Humphrey's resignation. But Mr. Humphrey has refused to give up his position. He contends that the Trade Commission is an independent semi-judicial body and that the president has no authority to compel his resignation. He was appointed by President Hoover and his term does not expire for five years.

Last week, however, President Roosevelt demanded Mr. Humphrey's immediate removal. The president appointed George C. Matthews, Republican, of Wisconsin, to fill the vacancy. Even so, Mr. Humphrey declared he would continue to sit on the Trade Commission and if forcibly ejected he would take the matter to court. President Roosevelt's desire to remove Mr. Humphrey is due to the fact that the Trade Commission is expected to make decisions in connection with unfair trade practices under the various codes, so the president is anxious to have members of the commission favorable to his policies. However, it is not a political issue, according to the Roosevelt administration, because Mr. Humphrey's successor is also a Republican.

The Trade Commission is composed of five members. They are appointed by the president, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for terms of seven years. Not more than three commissioners may be members of any one political party. In the past the commission has largely centered its work on eliminating "unfair methods of competition in commerce." The statute creating the commission reads as follows: "Any commission may be removed by the president for inefficiency, neglect of duty or malfeasance in office." Mr. Humphrey argues that President Roosevelt has no basis for any of these charges against him.

German National Press Law

The German press has become officially nationalized. Under the terms of the new National Press Law every newspaper in Germany becomes a servant of the state. Other laws, it is reported, establish the death penalty for publication of treasonable articles, and prison sentences for anti-Nazi material. In other words, freedom of press is henceforth a national crime in Hitlerite Germany.

Spain's Political Troubles

Spain found herself again without a premier last week, when Alejandro Lerroux, who had succeeded Manuel Azaña on September 9, was forced to resign. The Cortes, or parliament, refused to support Lerroux and consequently he could not continue in office. Lerroux was a conservative and came into power because of dissatisfaction over the drastic reforms which were being pushed by Azaña. But it seems that Lerroux was too conservative to suit the Cortes in which the Socialists are very strong. Therefore, a general deadlock developed and an extremely uneasy situation was created.

However, the Spanish president, Niceto Alcalá Zamora, was determined that a

conservative government should come into power. So he asked Martínez Barrios, a reactionary, to form a coalition government. Barrios is even more conservative than Lerroux. It seemed certain that he would be rejected by the liberal Cortes. Thus, President Zamora gave him power to dissolve the Cortes and call new elections. Such action had not been taken when this was being written but was expected to be soon.

Four More States Needed

On October 3, Virginia became the thirty-second state to vote in favor of prohibition repeal. Only four more states are needed to remove the eighteenth amendment from the Constitution. At least five more states are to vote on this issue by November 7. Meanwhile, the Treasury Department is taking steps to collect liquor taxes beginning December 5, as it now seems certain that prohibition will be repealed by that time. Then when Congress convenes in January it will be faced with the problem of deciding upon new taxes to be imposed on the sale of distilled liquors.

John L. Lewis

One hears a great deal about John L. Lewis these days. He is president of the United Mine Workers of America, and he was one of the outstanding representatives of labor at the recent American Federation of Labor convention in Washington.



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JOHN L. LEWIS

(See page 1.) Mr. Lewis was also very active while the coal code was being decided upon in Washington. He attended most of the hearings on this code and demanded that miners be paid higher wages and receive other advantages which they have not had in the past.

Mr. Lewis has reached the high office he now holds by hard work and a fortunate marriage. When a boy he received very little education. His folks were poor and at the age of twelve he had to start work as a mule-driver in a mine. His early experiences made him feel that workers could obtain fairer treatment from their employers if they organized into groups or unions. So he joined the United Mine Workers of America.

In 1907 he married an Iowa school teacher. She stimulated his interest in reading. He read everything he could get his hands on, especially books on labor problems. As he had natural qualities of leadership, his extensive reading prepared him for executive work. He climbed the ladder of success until in 1920 he was elected president of the United Mine Workers of America. He has held that office ever since.

New Relief Step

President Roosevelt has taken a tremendously important step to do away with the tragic problem of want and plenty existing side by side. He has created the Federal Surplus Relief Organization. This organization will purchase surplus supplies of food, clothing and coal, and distribute them to the needy. These supplies will only be purchased from those producers who have such an abundance that they cannot get rid of them. They will be bought as cheaply as possible and will be distributed to local relief agencies throughout the country. These agencies will then pass the supplies on to those in need.

For Fire Prevention

The prospects are bright that an all-time record in fire losses will be hung up in the national forests this year, according to the Department of Agriculture in Washington. Only 128,635 acres of forest land have been destroyed by fire so far this year. This is to be compared with the last five years when more than 600,000 acres have been burned each year.

Favorable weather conditions have been largely responsible for this year's good

record. But much credit is also given to members of emergency conservation camps in the national forests. These camps were organized by the Roosevelt administration to give jobs to young men, planting trees and doing other forest work. The members of these camps have smothered many fires at their outset that might have destroyed thousands of acres of forests. Then, too, they have constructed new truck trails, horse trails and telephone lines, making it easier to get men and equipment to fires before the flames gain much headway.

Socialist Leader Succumbs

Morris Hillquit, one of the outstanding leaders of the Socialist party in this country, passed away last week. At the time of his death he was national chairman of his party and was practicing law in New York City. He was born in Riga, Latvia, sixty-four years ago. His family moved to New York when he was very young. He joined the Socialist party at the age of nineteen and has been one of its most active members since. He ran for mayor of New York City on the Socialist ticket in 1917 and polled more votes than any other Socialist candidate had ever received. Among other things he was a student of languages, picking them up in his leisure time. He could read and speak Russian, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and French.

Cancer-Cure Progress

The American College of Surgeons met in Chicago last week to discuss the advancement of surgical science, particularly during the last year. Dr. Joseph C. Bloodgood of Johns Hopkins University, located in Baltimore, told his audience of surgeons that at least three types of cancer could be cured as easily as diphtheria, if they received the proper treatment. He named cancer of the skin, mouth and the cervix (neck) as the three types. At present, he said, these cases are responsible for 30,000 deaths a year, deaths which could be entirely avoided by "continuous medical supervision."

Soviets Warn Japan

Trouble is again brewing between Soviet Russia and Japan over the Chinese Eastern Railway. This railway has long been owned by Russia and China. But now that Manchuria has broken away from China, with Japan's assistance, and has become an independent state, she claims ownership of China's half of the railway because it runs through her territory. To avoid complications, Russia has offered to sell her part of the railway to Manchukuo, and negotiations to that end have been going on for some time. Manchukuo, however, has been unwilling to pay the price asked by the Soviet government. In the meantime Manchukuoan authorities have been arresting Russian railway officials, according to the Soviets. Russia claims that these arrests are just part of a scheme which is being carried out by Japan and Manchukuo to seize the railway. The Pravda newspaper, which is the outstanding organ of the Communist party in Russia, warned Japan a few days ago against entering into any plot to take possession of the railway.

Dr. Butler Speaks Out

The NRA must succeed or the people of this country will be ruled by a dictator, declared Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, over the radio last week.

Dr. Butler said that there is no turning back now. People have lost faith and confidence in the pre-depression order of things, he said, so now we must move forward. He expressed the belief that "there are just two ways in which recovery from these disastrous happenings may be sought. One is to be compelled to act at the dictation of an absolute authority, and the other is to be persuaded and induced to act willingly in cooperation with our fellows under the guidance and with the full cooperation, the full assistance of government." The latter course, he predicted, is the one which the American people will continue to follow, rather than to go the way of Russia, Italy, Germany and other nations now governed by strong dictatorships.

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NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

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Defeatism

During the war a great deal was heard about people who had no confidence in victory, who felt that defeat was coming and who were willing to accept defeat rather than to struggle harder for victory. These people were called "defeatists" and they were considered very dangerous. They did stand as obstacles to those who favored a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

But we do not have to go back to the war years in order to find defeatists. They are to be seen today. They have no confidence in the power of the country to work its way toward economic recovery. They are pessimistic about the future. They are not inspired by enough hope so that they are willing to work vigorously for recovery.

Some of these defeatists are selfish in their purposes. They want defeat. They would like to see a fall in the market—at least a temporary decline. They are speculators who stand to profit by a fall of prices, and so they are starting stories that a crash is coming. They are whispering it about that officials in Washington realize that the recovery movement has failed and that they are in a state of panic. Others who are not malicious and who really hope for recovery are uneasy and apprehensive. It is natural that many should fall in this class. The economic forces which influence national well-being are so complex that no one understands them fully. No one knows for certain what is going to happen and all of us have been disappointed many times during recent years. It is natural, then, that those who are particularly nervous and fearful should look for the worst when they contemplate the future. It is natural that a decline in business activity such as has been noted for a few weeks should lead to exaggerated fears.

No one who is at all sensible will undertake to say for a certainty how business will go during the coming weeks or months. It can be definitely declared, however, that the rumors to the effect that officials in Washington are in panic or despair are wholly false. This is not true. Neither is it true that most of the business leaders or economists are looking for a crash and a precipitate tumble into deeper depression. Many of the rumors which are going about are wholly false and many of the fears are quite without justification.

The common attitude among officials and economists in Washington is that progress toward recovery will be slow and uneven. The winter is practically certain to be a desperate one. There will be movements backward and forward. Some policies will be tried and found wanting. Others will achieve better results. Miracles will not hap-



FLYING WEATHER—BAD

—Cowan in Boston TRANSCRIPT

pen. Recovery will not be swift and immediate, but there is good reason to believe that the bottom was reached last spring, and that we are moving in the right direction.

Labor Troubles

Labor troubles have increased sharply during recent months. Several serious strikes are now under way and others are threatened. These outbreaks are causing considerable concern because they stand in the way of business recovery. They interfere with the resumption of production. They take away from the profits of business. They diminish the incomes of workers and thus cut down purchasing power.

But, though the increasing strikes are not a source of satisfaction they need not occasion undue alarm. Certainly they were to be expected, because labor difficulties have nearly always increased during periods of higher prices and increasing production. There are few strikes in times of falling prices and of increasing unemployment. The reason is that jobs are then very insecure. No one is willing to go on strike because there are great armies of unemployed ready to take the places of those who step out. Conditions are unfavorable for the success of a strike.

At the first signs of recovery labor becomes restless. The workers have lost a great deal during the period of hard times. Their wages have been decreased. They are anxious to get back to the old level. Employers may be able to pay higher wages, but they are disinclined to do so if they can prevent it. If there is an increase in business they prefer that it be reflected in enlarged profits for themselves rather than in higher wages for the men. Conditions are more favorable for the success of a strike and so workers, here and there, undertake to improve their lot by forcing the employers to grant their demands. Strikes follow as unemployment decreases. The likelihood that the places of the strikers will be taken by outsiders grows smaller. Many of the strikes are successful and these strikes contribute in no small measure to the winning back of that which labor lost during the hard times. The *Editorial Research Reports* furnish the following historical evidence of increasing labor troubles during periods of business improvement:

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics began in 1881 to collect figures on the number of important strikes. This was a year of prosperity, which continued through 1883. In the depression of 1884, strikes decreased. They increased in the recovery of 1885. In the prosperous period of 1886 to 1892, the number of strikes was high, except in the latter year. Then in the five-year depression of the nineties, the number of strikes declined sharply. Strikes and business activity both increased sharply in 1899.

There are no federal statistics on strikes from 1906 to 1916, but figures for this period are available from two great industrial states, New York and Massachusetts. In both states, the number of strikes increased in 1909 and 1910, following the depression of 1907 and 1908. In 1916, when wartime prosperity began to flower, there were 328 strikes in New York, involving 254,000 workers and 10,000,000 lost days of work. The combined number of strikes in that state in the depression years of 1914 and 1915 had been only 227, involving 121,000 workers and 2,300,000 lost days of work.

In 1918, the number of strikes was cut down in comparison with 1917 by the machinery for arbitration set up by the government under the pro-labor attitude of the Wilson administration. Also, employees were inclined to yield to the demands of Labor because of shortage of workmen and because of the opportunity for high profits as long as plants were in operation.

In the postwar depression of 1921-22, the number of strikes declined greatly, only to increase again in the recovery of 1923. The ensuing period of prosperity was an exception to the general trend, because the number of strikes did not increase, on the whole. Various factors are usually assigned for this development. Wages, although below the wartime levels, remained relatively high and working hours in general were reduced. Many employers cut under the old-line unions by establishing company unions and intensive welfare work. The American Federation of Labor lost some of its earlier militancy. Technological changes weakened Labor's power, and some important court decisions were unfavorable to unionism.

In 1930, the first year of the depression, strikes decreased. The next year, they increased slightly, but not in comparison with the number of wage cuts imposed upon Labor. In 1932, although more wage cuts occurred, the number of strikes was about the same as in 1931. In May, 1933, they began to increase, with 133 strikes, involving 42,000 workers and 600,000 man days lost. In July, there were 165 strikes reported to the Department of Labor, involving 110,000 workers and over 2,000,000 man days lost.

The Constitution

A number of men prominent in public life have begun to worry about the Constitution. The creation of the NRA, the Agricultural Administration, and numerous other powerful boards and bureaus fills them with alarm. They fear that provisions of the Constitution have been overthrown in an attempt to pull the country from the depths of depression, and that permanent damage to American ideals may result. The *Detroit News* reassures them with this editorial comment:

And what of it? We still have a Congress, a Supreme Court and inferior courts, and all the other paraphernalia provided for in 1787; and in the manner provided, the states are now engaged in ratifying an amendment to the Constitution, repealing another amendment about which the majority



NOW TO FINISH THE JOB

—Talbot in Washington News

of the people have changed their minds. Why bother, if the Constitution is tottering?

The idea that the Constitution was finished in 1787 for all time is nonsensical. The most remarkable fact about the Constitution is that it has survived for nearly 150 years through immense changes in the national mode of life. It could not have survived if it had not been flexible and adaptable through interpretation. It would have gone the way of so many other constitutions in various parts of the world which were so badly drawn—mainly by the inclusion of particulars that allowed no latitude for change—that they aroused popular anger, and had to be scrapped.

There is no reason to become panicky today because the Constitution does not mean to us exactly what it meant to those who framed it. We don't live in the same world. As long as the Constitution adapts itself to our changing civilization, it is a good Constitution. And it does so adapt itself. When it doesn't the people change it in a few particulars, and it still serves.

A reasonable extension and strengthening of federal police power—the proposal of which is largely the cause of this debate about the failure of the states and the undermining of the Constitution—is not going to cause any revolution in this country, nor lead to the abandonment of our traditional scheme of government.

Better to Know

The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency has reopened its investigation of banking practices, begun last spring and adjourned shortly after the appearance of J. P. Morgan before the committee. The *New York World-Telegram* makes the following comment with regard to the investigation:

There is reason to believe that the dramatic hearings of the spring and early summer will prove to have been only a modest introduction to the real revelations in store for a country trying to get to the bottom of its economic mystery.

Somewhere, before we can take the path to permanent prosperity, must be found the answer to this question:—How did it happen that a nation, apparently soaring to undreamed heights of prosperity one day, awakened the next to find itself headed downward into an almost bottomless business and industrial depression?

The answer, many believe, will be found only through searching examination of our great financial institutions.

A good beginning has been made in this direction, but the Senate has a long way yet to go. It is not a job to be completed in a hurry. The committee must be prepared to follow any clew its investigators may have turned up during their summer's work.

It must be prepared to close its ears to soft suggestions that further questioning of the bankers is likely to disturb confidence and so retard the business recovery so desperately desired. There will be no real recovery until real confidence has been obtained, confidence resting on knowledge.

Senator Fletcher, chairman of the committee, announced after a conference with President Roosevelt during the spring that the inquiry would be extended into the stock market. That will take time. It will likewise take a larger appropriation than the committee thus far has requested.

In its partial report to the Congress in January the committee should be prepared to ask for funds with which to make this investigation as thorough as humanly possible.

The committee need have no doubt that the country wants this research completed. In 1928 and 1929 the American people may have felt it was fun to be fooled. But they have learned it is better to know.

Science has added seven years to the life of man, but it is still good policy to watch one's step in crossing the street.

—Atlanta CONSTITUTION

The police in Havana keep on good terms with the students, realizing that any one of them is likely to grow up to be President any minute.

—Boston GLOBE

After trying to keep Junior busy all summer, mother finds considerable unemployment relief in the opening of school.

—Christian Science MONITOR



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MARY E. WOOLLEY

Mary Emma Woolley Discusses Arms Cut

Prominent Feminine Leader Is Expected to Go to Geneva for Parley

"What can we do? (to promote disarmament and world peace). First, we can be intelligent—a suggestion submitted with the hope that no one will take offense!

"Second, we can use our energy not in criticizing what is being done, or not being done. Instead of using that negative approach, we can use our energy in securing collective and individual pressure upon the governments in support of international cooperation.

"Third, we can keep our heads cool and our hearts warm. There are altogether too many people engaged in the reverse process. They become hot-headed and cool-hearted, that is, cynical and pessimistic. But that is not the way to win the battle for Peace."

When the American delegation to the International Disarmament Conference departs for Geneva to attend the session which is about to convene in the Swiss capital, there will be included in it the author of the above quotation. She is Dr. Mary Emma Woolley, an outstanding woman educator, and leader in movements to promote peace and understanding among the people of the world.

Dr. Woolley was named the only woman member of the American delegation to this world conference by the then President Hoover in 1932. In accepting this position she stepped into a new role for a woman, but one which was not difficult for her to assume. She had been an ardent advocate of peace and was interested in ways of promoting it.

The conference was divided up into numerous commissions for the study of disarmament. Among other assignments, Dr. Woolley was made a member of the Commission on Moral Disarmament. Out of the deliberations of this group have come important recommendations for the teaching of the fundamental principles of peace and disarmament in the schools, the development of examinations on these subjects to be taken by persons wishing to enter government service, and the promotion of plans to spread far and wide the principles of peace, disarmament, and the Kellogg-Briand Treaty for the outlawry of war.

Thus, this American woman is sharing in an unassuming way, part of the international spot-

light. As we wait to hear of her new labors in behalf of world cooperation and understanding, we cannot forget the place she has made for herself in the nation's public life.

It was in 1900 that Dr. Woolley went to Mt. Holyoke College at South Hadley, Massachusetts, as its president. Thirty-three years have passed, and they spell thirty-three years of remarkable development for this institution of higher learning for women. For example, the endowment of the college in 1900 amounted to something like \$450,000, whereas now it equals nearly \$4,500,000. In 1900 about 550 students were enrolled in the institution, whereas now something like 1,050 young women are registered there. If there is any story in figures, surely these indicate achievement.

In addition to her everyday job as president of one of the outstanding women's colleges of the nation, Dr. Woolley has held innumerable positions in various organizations, and has lent her support to many movements. At various times she has been actively identified with the Young Women's Christian Association, the League of Women Voters, the League of Nations Association, the American Association of University Women, the National Advisory Committee on Education, American Society for Labor Legislation, American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, League for Permanent Peace, Institute of International Education, and many other organizations.

Wichita Installs Unique System of Traffic Control

Wichita, Kansas, has a novel way of trying to educate its citizens in traffic regulations. Suppose you park your car "double" in order to dash into a store to make a purchase. While in the store, you hear a loud voice announcing that you have parked incorrectly. You hurry outside and find cruising slowly up the street a white truck equipped with a microphone. At the driver's seat is an officer of the law in uniform. You begin to look for a place to park your car correctly, and you hear in the distance the officer in the white truck telling another driver that he has failed to observe a "stop sign."

This is no less than Wichita's traffic patrol car in action. This particular system was originally a stationary unit placed at various busy downtown intersections in order to educate pedestrians in the observance of traffic signals. It was found, too, that drivers could be instructed through it as to the proper method of making turns, moving in certain lanes of traffic, and moving with the light signals. When it was discovered that the system was working out so successfully here, the idea was conceived of mounting the system on a truck that would make it possible to spread the "education" to other parts of the city.

The equipment for this public address system was rigged up on a truck painted white. All the controls are mounted on a panel just at the rear of the driver, and the microphone is suspended near his head, so that one man can drive the truck, operate the speaker system, and direct traffic.

It has been found that an officer using this truck during an eight-hour tour of duty can average contact with one violator every three minutes. He can call attention to such things as the following: danger of children playing in the streets, running on stop signs, speeding, improper turns, defective lights, failure to signal properly, improper parking, and so on.

"Wisecracking," the use of poor grammar, and gruffness in the voice of the officer operating the patrol car are prohibited by the traffic authorities.

High School in Nebraska Gives Course in Farming

Ainsworth, Nebraska, is a farming community. There are about 200 pupils in the Ainsworth High School, and more than half of them are boys and girls who live on farms and ranches.

In most modern schools there are courses which the students may take in order to learn some particular trade or vocation at which they may want to work when they leave school. Therefore, we often find such courses offered as printing, auto mechanics, carpentry, salesmanship, merchandising and the like. But a large part of the students at Ainsworth were not going into the trades—they were going to be future farmers. What possible use could they make of such courses as printing, merchandising, school authorities began to wonder? Then a suggestion was made—Why should not these future farmers have a chance to prepare for their vocation, too, in high school, by studying the most up-to-date farming methods?

So it came about that the Ainsworth authorities began laying plans for an agricultural vocational course for the high school. To begin with, a comprehensive survey was made of the entire county. Every farm boy was listed and classified. Then a visit was paid him and his parents in order to inform them of the plans that were under way, and also to determine what particular things the boy would be most interested in studying.

Finally, the courses were set up, and the future farmers who go to school at the Ainsworth High, find that, among other things, they can study swine and beef production, the care of animals, butchering, proper feeds and rations, farm mechanics, and so on. The courses are supplemented by field trips in order to make the study as practicable as possible.

A short course of four weeks is also offered in the high school during the winter for the benefit of those farm boys who can be spared for only a short while from their agricultural duties.



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J. EDGAR HOOVER

Scientific Detection of Crime Progresses

J. Edgar Hoover Directs Government Unit in Tracking Kidnappers

A notorious gangster was wanted for murder in three large cities. Finally, he added to his list of crimes a kidnapping. At this point federal agents took up the chase in earnest in cooperation with state and local officers. The kidnapper crossed state lines in order to accomplish his crime, and the "Lindbergh Law" gave the federal government the authority to step into the case.

Days went by. Then suddenly there came a flash from Memphis, Tennessee—KELLY AND WIFE SEIZED. And thereby hangs a tale of the capture of this dangerous gunman without the firing of a single bullet. The work was accomplished by federal operatives directed from Washington and local police officers of that area. After trailing the criminal for many days, only to have him elude them, the Division of Investigation of the Department of Justice received a "tip" that Kelly was in Memphis. The director of the division called by long-distance one of his agents in Birmingham, Alabama, and the latter hastened by air to the gangster's hideout. There with the assistance of local officials, Kelly was taken, and the nation-wide war on crime had advanced another step.

Although the entire Department of Justice has set for itself the job of eliminating a large part of crime such as kidnapping and racketeering from our national life, the Division of Investigation plays a particularly important part in running down the criminals, just as it did in the Kelly case. And the young director of this division, J. Edgar Hoover, bears the responsibility for the efficiency of this anti-crime agency.

Mr. Hoover has under his immediate supervision one of the largest and most complete fingerprint collections in the world. Four million fingerprint records of persons who have been arrested in the United States and foreign countries make up this collection.

Another important work of this Investigation Division which Mr. Hoover has under his immediate supervision is the Technical Laboratory. In here, scientific aids for detecting crime are worked out. The experts in this laboratory also assist state and local law enforcement officials in the use of scientific crime detection aids, such as handwriting, type-writing analysis and the examination of blood, hair, and bullets.



ONLY REAL FARM JOBS WHICH THE FUTURE FARMER WILL BE CALLED UPON TO PERFORM IN HIS CHOSEN OCCUPATION ARE TAUGHT IN VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE AT AINSWORTH.

Vera Brittain Gives Picture of War Days

"Testament of Youth" Dramatic Account by One Who Lived Through Conflict

THERE is nothing unusual about the publication of a new book covering one phase or another of the World War. The market has been flooded with such books during the last few years. But it is an unusual literary event when a book of the caliber of Vera Brittain's "Testament of Youth" (New York: Macmillan, \$2.50) appears. In this work, which is autobiographical in nature, Miss Brittain has contributed more than an ordinary chronicle of war-time happenings. She brings to the fore an astute mind, an agile pen, and a deep appreciation of fundamental values in dealing with events of the first quarter of the present century. Nor is her appeal confined to the generation for which she speaks—the generation of young people who in their late teens or early twenties were caught in the universal upheaval of 1914 which shook the foundations of civilization. Her story is so vital and human, her presentation so convincing, that it stands singularly alone in this particular field.

Born in the "mauve decade" of a rapidly fading Victorian era, Miss Brittain, like so many of her contemporaries in all countries, failed at once to grasp the significance of the events which took place in the autumn of 1914. "To me and my contemporaries," she says, "with our cheerful confidence in the benignity of fate, war was something remote, unimaginable, its monstrous destructions and distresses safely shut up, like the Black Death and the Great Fire, between the covers of history books. In spite of the efforts of Miss Heath Jones and other intelligent teachers, 'current events' had remained for us unimportant precisely because they were national; they represented something that must be followed in the newspapers but would never, conceivably, have to be lived. What really mattered were not these public affairs, but the absorbing incidents of our own private lives, and now, suddenly, the one had impinged upon the other, and public events and private lives had become inseparable."

Miss Brittain knew the war from almost every conceivable angle. First, as a student at Oxford she knew its significance and horrors only vicariously. Then, as a volunteer nurse in England, she contacted it more directly by ministering to the wounded soldiers placed in her charge.

Finally, she lived through its most bitter intensity by suffering the loss of her fiancé, her brother, and her closest friends, and by serving as a nurse on the island of Malta and later in France. To know what all these trying experiences meant to this young Englishwoman is to know the human side of the war. It may be argued that it is well to let such tragedy remain buried in the past. But if history has any meaning, if the World War really marked the end of one era and the beginning of another in the history of mankind, this testament of a generation which bore the brunt of the struggle cannot be ignored by those who have more than a passive interest in the world in which they live.

Death Ltd.

"Cry Havoc" by Beverley Nichols.
New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co.
\$2.50

IT TAKES the literary genius of a Beverley Nichols to make the case against war appealing, dramatic, and real, and that is really the object of this book. Not that this brilliant Englishman ignores the vital statistics and facts essential to an unemotional decision on the matter. Quite the contrary. His book is full of them. But he injects life into the subject and succeeds in transmitting his personal hatred of war to each and every one of his readers. Whether we agree with him and the Oxford students who have formally declared that under no circumstances will they fight for "king and country" we must admit the reality of his challenge.

With biting sarcasm, Mr. Nichols flays the armaments manufacturers, or the "bloody international," as he calls them, who by their manipulations strive constantly to thrust nations into war so that they may reap heavy profits. He goes fairly deep into some of the causes of war, attacking the military training practices in the schools of England. He denounces acrimoniously an educational system which in the teaching of history invariably emphasizes the national achievements on the field of battle, canonizes military leaders and which passes over with a word or completely ignores the constructive accomplishments in other fields of endeavor.

The New Germany

"Germany—Twilight or Dawn?"
Anonymous. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill. \$2.00

A GERMAN whose name is withheld from the public has written an excellent account of the Nazi revolution in Germany. He has analyzed the National Socialist movement. He has character-

ized Hitler and the other leaders admirably. He has explained how the movement came into power. He has described its methods and its purposes. He has, in short, written a very valuable book, one by the use of which an American reader knowing little about the German situation may come into a large measure of understanding.

It is easy, when an author sets out to write about a movement, to say that he does not plan either to praise or blame, but merely to explain. It is a harder thing to carry out that intention. The anonymous author of this book has done it. He furnishes material out of which an indictment of Germany may be prepared. He tells a quite complete story of the treatment accorded by the Nazis to the Jews, the communists and the socialists. Germany is pictured as a land under the iron hand of a dictator who has completely destroyed freedom of speech and press, who is ruthless in his treatment of minority groups like the Jews. But all this is told in an unemotional way. There is a real attempt to understand how such a movement came into power. Recognition is given to the state of mind in which the Germans found themselves after the war and after the peace treaty which imposed heavy obligations upon them. The treatment accorded the Germans in the post-war years tended to drive them away from the democracy and pacifism which they were embracing, toward a spirit of revenge and toward the development of a new and fanatical nationalism. The relations of the Jews to the rest of the population are treated historically. There is an account of their rise to a status of civil and political liberty, of the tremendous gains which they made in economic influence, of the filling of the professions with Jews, of the resentment which was growing up in the lower middle class of which Hitler was a member.

Finally, we have an analysis of German foreign policies. Hitler is said not really to want a war, because of his intent upon social and economic reconstruction in Germany. He wants to establish German equality among the nations but is inclined, now that he is in power, to be more moderate in his foreign policies. How permanent this new régime in Germany will be will depend, this author thinks, upon its success in bringing a fair degree of economic security to the German people.

Adolf Hitler has written a story of his life, telling of the struggles through which he passed before rising to his present position. This book has had a tremendous sale in Germany. More than a million copies have been bought in that country. Now the book has been translated into English and is being published by Houghton Mifflin and Company. We shall give a review of Hitler's "My Battle" in the next issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.



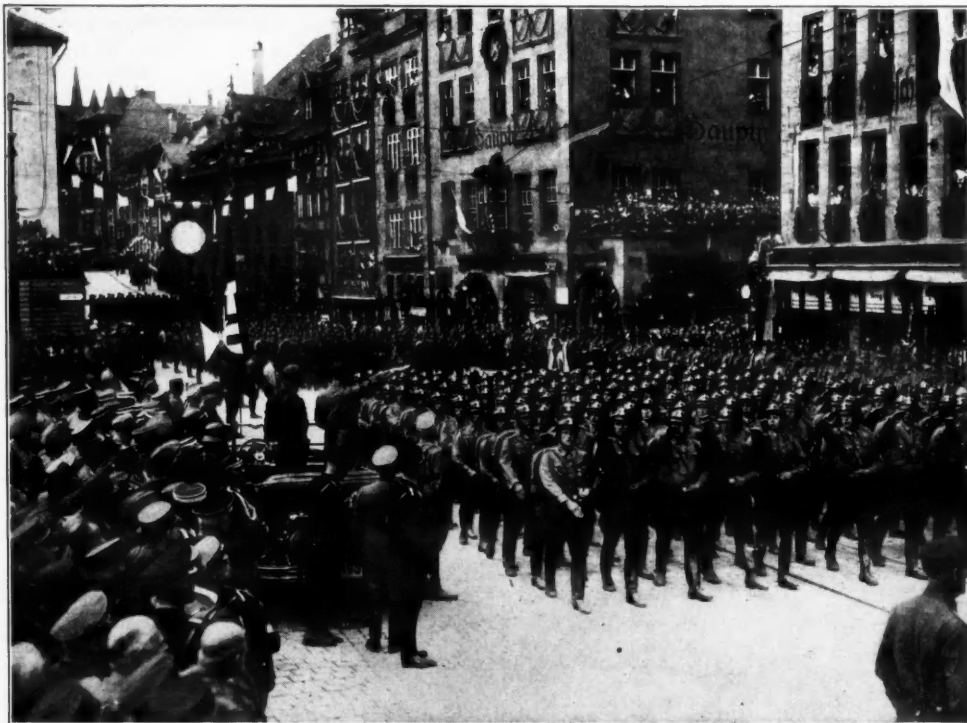
VERA BRITTAIN

FROM CURRENT MAGAZINES

"Germany Moves Toward War;"—I. "The Man Behind Hitler," by Ernst Henri; II. "Germany Mobilizes." *Living Age*, October, 1933. The real power behind the Hitler throne, in the estimation of Mr. Henri, is Fritz Thyssen, powerful capitalist and industrialist. For years, Thyssen had been trying to force a liberal Jewish combine, headed by Otto Wolff, out of the mammoth steel trust. It was Thyssen money and power, therefore, that put Hitler into the saddle, and the "National Socialist government of Germany today carries out Thyssen's policy on all matters, as though the entire nation were but a part of the steel trust," declares Mr. Henri. In the second article, an anonymous correspondent marshals facts and figures in an attempt to prove his point that "Germany has become an army barracks, a single vast concentration camp for the coming war."

"The Crisis in Relief," by Edith Abbott. *The Nation*, October 11, 1933. This author indicts our present burdened and outmoded system of caring for the destitute and needy. The continued insistence by the federal government that funds it gives for relief to the states must be matched by state or local funds, will lead to two unfortunate results, because the bankrupt local authorities are no longer able to carry such a relief burden. In the first place, it will lead to sales taxes in order to pay the local relief bills. In the second place, other important social services, such as education, will have to be cut to the bone and beyond, a process which is already going on in many communities.

"Can New York Afford Tammany?" by P. W. Wilson, *Review of Reviews*, October, 1933. Pertinent to the pending mayoralty election in New York, is a review of the intricacies of high finance in that metropolis under the régime of Tammany. Pausing only for a brief glimpse into the history of the founding of this political machine, Mr. Wilson dwells at length on the modern Tammany that has pushed the city to the verge of bankruptcy through a "subsidized political army," defensive of "graft, waste and corruption." Mr. Wilson sees in the November election a chance to defeat Tammany Hall by support of the Fusion ticket. (Mr. Wilson wrote his article before the entrance of Joseph V. McKee into the race.)



ADOLF HITLER REVIEWS HIS STORM TROOPS

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Federation of Labor Urges Shorter Hours

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

dollars for their labor will find the value of their wages going down. They may, indeed, be given wage increases from time to time as prices go up, but these increases of wages are likely to be slower than the price rises are. Hence, they will find themselves worse off from week to week as a result of the fall in the value of the dollar and the rise in the cost of goods.

The president of the A. F. of L. also called for speedier action on the government's huge public works building program, and the delegates appeared to be of the same opinion. This policy, too, is quite understandable. If the government carries on a building program, more men will be employed and this will help the workers. But the demand of the labor leaders which has been most widely discussed was a demand for the thirty-hour week. It may seem strange that there should be such an insistent demand for a shortening of the workweek. It has already been considerably shortened by the NRA codes. The workweek has been cut down to thirty-five or forty hours in nearly all the industries. Why should labor go further now and call for a thirty-hour week?

Case for Shorter Week

The answer to this question was made quite clear at the convention. Here is the situation as the labor leaders see it: For many years labor-saving machinery has been taking the place of human labor at a rapid rate. The introduction of machinery produced no very serious problems while the country was young and there was new land to be taken up. There were unused resources to be tapped. There were western frontiers to be advanced. But those frontier days are over. There is no longer a continent to be conquered. When a machine is brought into a factory now to do the work which a number of men have been doing, the men cannot so easily find jobs. Perhaps they cannot find jobs at all.

Unemployment which is due to improved machinery or improved methods of manufacture—to technological changes—is called technological unemployment. Technological unemployment was becoming a serious thing even before the depression. The production of manufactured goods was increasing then at a rapid rate, but the number of men engaged in the manufacturing industries was not increasing. It was decreasing. For a while these displaced men and women found work in the so-called service industries. They found work in repair shops and filling stations and beauty parlors, and so on. But in the prosperous years preceding the crash there was a question as to whether the process of finding new kinds of work could go on indefinitely. Technological unemployment even then was causing alarm.

It has become more general during the years of hard times. Employers have been obliged to economize in order to keep going. In very many cases these employers, with their backs to the wall, have found that they could produce more cheaply by bringing in new machinery. In this way they could reduce the number of their workers. That sort of thing has been going on very rapidly during the last four years. The result is (so the labor leaders believe) that even though the depression should end and normal times return, a very

great part of the present army of unemployed would still be out of work. Production might increase to the pre-depression level, so it is argued, without the employment of as many workers as were employed a few years ago. Millions of men and women would still be jobless and the presence in our midst of millions of unemployed would threaten the permanence of prosperity, and in fact, the stability of society itself.

Such is the situation as President Green and his associates see it. What is the remedy? Let each man produce less, they say, in order that there may be need for the work of all. Let the hours of labor be cut down to thirty a week and then there may be enough jobs to go around. This, they say, is the only way to avoid hardship on a wide scale and perhaps national disaster.

An Economic Controversy

There is a difference of opinion as to the correctness of this point of view. The charge that labor-saving machinery causes unemployment and distress is an old one and at certain times in history changes in industrial methods have unquestionably thrown many people out of work and caused much suffering. This happened when the factory was introduced in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution.

prevented only by a general sharing of the jobs which remain. In other words, a shorter working time for everyone will be necessary. There is, however, this immediate problem to be faced: There are many employers who are engaged in a nip and tuck struggle to keep going since profits have been wiped out as a result of the depression. If these employers are called upon to shorten the hours of labor and to employ more men, and if at the same time they are asked to pay each of the men as much as the men are now receiving at the longer hours, they will find their costs of production increased. In many cases this increase of cost may force them out of business altogether and this, of course, would add to the amount of unemployment, rather than decrease it. It is possible that in case hours are shortened, each worker may be asked to take a lower daily wage—the same wage per hour but a lower daily income. If this were done, it would be a case of a general sharing by labor in the task of giving employment to those who are now jobless. If these jobless are to be reemployed through a shortening of the workweek the cost of the reemployment must fall either upon employers or workers, or upon both of them together. It is possible that a compromise by which employers may bear part of the cost and workers a part may be worked out.

to retailers, those who haul lumber or blocks of cement in the building trades—all these are joined together into a teamsters' union.

It would be possible to organize in a different way. For example, all the men engaged in the brewing industry, whether they were teamsters or engineers or firemen, or laborers doing other kinds of work connected with brewing might belong to a union of brewery workers. This is called the "industrial" union. Some unions are organized that way. In the clothing industry, the workers, regardless of the kind of operations they perform, are united into the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. This is the strongest of the industrial unions and it is not a member of the American Federation of Labor, because the A. F. of L. is made up of the craft unions, rather than industrial unions.

Where workers are organized by crafts many unskilled workers are left out. An unskilled worker is not a carpenter or plumber or printer or teamster. He has no skilled trade or craft. It may be difficult, if not impossible, for him to become a member of a union such as those belonging to the A. F. of L. So the A. F. of L. unions are made up largely of the skilled workers. They bargain quite successfully sometimes for better wages and working conditions for themselves, and so if a man

is a skilled worker belonging to one of the recognized trades or crafts, it is reasonable for him to favor the craft unions. The A. F. of L. favors this sort of organization and does not admit to membership in the Federation the other kind of unions.

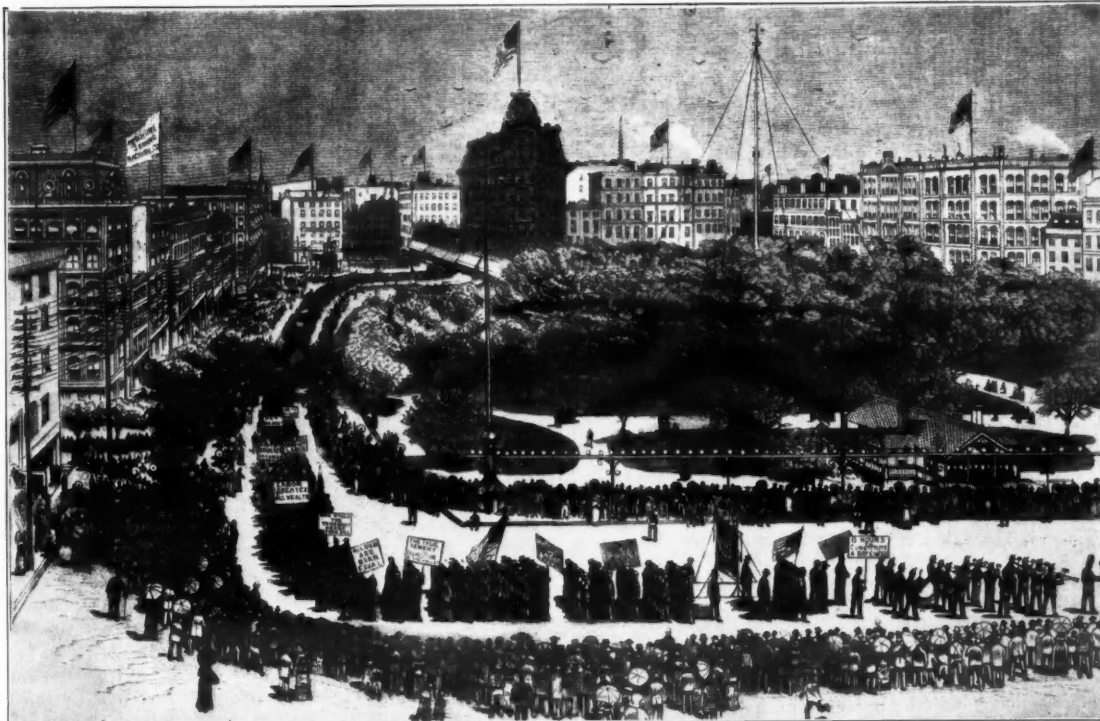
Industrial unions are made up of all those who work in a certain industry, such as the steel industry, or the coal mining industry, or the clothing industry, or the brewing industry. Those who are anxious to bring all workers, regardless of their lines of work, together into a strong mass movement of labor are inclined to favor industrial unions. In most European countries, the industrial type of union is the accepted form. In those countries labor is more united and frequently it stands together politically, forming its own political party. The industrial union is better suited to mass action of that kind by labor.

And so in this country

we find that the conservative labor leaders, those who are demanding no more than an increase of wages for themselves or better working conditions, are inclined to favor craft unions. The more radical labor elements, those who want labor represented in the control of industry and who want labor to exercise a greater influence in the political life are inclined to favor industrial unions.

Mr. Henry L. Mencken announced last week that he would resign his position as editor of *The American Mercury* at the end of this year. Announcement of Mencken's retirement from the editorship of the magazine he founded several years ago was not entirely unexpected. His friends had been expecting the change for several months. Mr. Mencken stated that he was leaving the magazine to devote more time to travel and to the writing of several books he has had in mind for some time. He will continue his writing for the *Baltimore Evening Sun* to which he has been a contributor for some years.

At the same time it was announced that Henry Hazlitt will replace Mencken as editor of *The American Mercury*. Mr. Hazlitt is the literary editor of *The Nation* and is well known as a book critic and writer on finance.



A LABOR PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY FIFTY YEARS AGO

—Culver Service

It has happened time and again in particular industries. The usual argument of economists has been that the improved processes of manufacture make goods cheaper. When the goods are cheaper more people can buy them and buy them in larger quantities. This added demand for the goods makes possible a vastly increased production. As a result of the increased production as many men will be employed as before the introduction of the labor-saving devices, and at the same time the general standard of living will have been raised. It is a fact, however, that the individual workman who is thrown out of a job by a new invention will not get his old job back. If he finds work at all it will be some other kind of work and it will probably be at a lower wage. In the past it appears that inventions and labor-saving devices have benefited society as a whole but that they have blighted the lives of very many individual workers. Whether or not these technological advances are now coming so rapidly that they will throw people out of jobs more rapidly than other jobs can possibly be found is one of the unsolved economic issues of our time.

A Practical Problem

If it is true that the jobs of millions are threatened by mechanical improvements, then widespread distress can probably be

These problems we have been considering are problems of policy. They refer to measures which the labor leaders want to have carried out. Now another set of problems came before the A. F. of L. convention. These were questions of organization. How should the laborers of the country be organized? It was agreed that they must be organized more effectively. The NRA has brought about a more effective organization of employers. All the business men of a particular industry are joined together into a trade association. It is to be presumed that the workers should organize so as to negotiate on equal terms with these combined employers, but there are several possible means by which this result may be brought about.

Labor Organizations

The American Federation of Labor stands for what is called the "craft" form of union. The attempt is made to bring together all the workers engaged in a particular kind of work, or in a particular craft. For example, there is a teamsters' union. It includes the teamsters; that is, the men who drive horses and haul loads, regardless of the industries for whom they do the hauling. The men who work in the brewing industry and haul kegs or cases of beer, the men who drive the heavy wagons carrying boxes of goods from wholesalers



Week by Week with the N. R. A.



Studies of the Government in Action



SEVERAL matters of first-rate importance have come before the NRA during the last week or so. Perhaps the most outstanding of these, insofar as public interest and attention are concerned, was the dispute in the coal-mining districts of the East, particularly Pennsylvania. The difficulties in that region became so acute that President Roosevelt himself intervened in order to restore peace between workers and employers after General Johnson and other officials of the NRA had failed to effect a settlement. Unlike the other labor disputes in the coal fields which we reported last week, the recent disturbances have occurred in what are known as "captive" mines. These mines are not regular commercial coal mines which produce



THE N. R. A. TO REORGANIZE

coal for general sale. They are owned and operated by the large steel companies which require a great deal of coal for the manufacture of steel in their plants. Approximately 100,000 miners employed in these "captive" mines walked out on strike as a result of the difficulties.

"Check-off" System

Now, in order to understand the fundamental cause of this conflict, one should examine the set-up in these different eastern mines. The workers in the regular commercial mines have for a long time been highly organized. Their labor union, the United Mine Workers of America, has for years bargained with the mine owners on matters pertaining to wages and general working conditions. It has had an arrangement with the owners whereby the employers deducted the union dues from the regular pay checks of the employees and turned the money over to the union. This is known as the "check-off" system.

The owners of the "captive" mines, on the other hand, have never accepted such a practice. On the whole, they have been opposed to national unions, whether they applied to their factory and mill workers or their mine workers. It will be remembered that during the hearings on the code for the steel industry, the employers opposed organized labor at every turn, although they were finally forced to comply

with the provisions of the recovery act which permits workers to organize as they see fit. Since the "check-off" system guarantees a strong union by the forceful collection of union dues, the steel companies have refused to apply it to their mines.

But difficulties arose shortly after the bituminous coal code went into effect October 2. This code specifically authorizes the "check-off" system in coal mines but the steel companies declared that this provision did not apply to their mines. General Johnson ruled otherwise, declaring that the "captive" mines were bound by the general provisions of the coal code except those which apply to the sale of coal. When the strike was declared and the general situation became acute, President Roosevelt stepped in. He called to the White House officials of the leading steel companies—the United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the National Steel Corporation, the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, and the American Iron and Steel Institute, the trade association of the steel industry.

After these discussions, the president ordered the operators and representatives of the workers immediately to open negotiations with a view to ending the strikes and definitely settling the main dispute. Should they fail to do this, he asserted, he would settle the matter himself according to the authority vested in him by the recovery act and would impose upon the captive mines "conditions of work substantially the same in the broadest sense as those which obtain in the commercial mines."

NRA Reorganization

Meanwhile General Johnson returned to his office to take up the accumulated problems confronting the NRA. It appears very definitely now that the recovery administration is ready to swing into the third phase of the program, the setting up and supervision of enforcement machinery throughout the nation. The first two phases of the work—the bringing of all industry under a blanket code regulating wages, hours of work, and other important matters pending the adoption of specific codes for the various industries, and the working out of these specific codes—have made great headway. The primary attention of the NRA has now turned to the important problem of enforcing the regulations of the codes already adopted.

While there still remain hundreds of industries not covered by special codes, these industries do not employ, relatively speaking, a very large number of workers. A large majority of the workers of the country have been provided for in the codes already promulgated by the president. On October 4 Mr. Roosevelt signed seventeen additional codes, bringing the total to more

than fifty. Of these last seventeen, a number were of considerable importance because of the large number of workers they employ. Among others, the president signed codes for the banking, automobile retail selling, lumber merchandising, and boot and shoe industries. The code for retail stores and drug stores has not yet been approved due to the controversy that has arisen over the question of price-fixing. This point has been the great stumbling-block for several weeks, with officials of the NRA divided on the issue. The president himself may have to intervene on this important question before a final settlement is reached.

In the matter of reorganization of the NRA in order to provide adequate enforcement machinery, it seems likely that the various agencies already existing will be used to the greatest possible degree. In the first place, the trade associations will perform a valuable service. They will investigate reported violations of the code provisions, such as wages, hours of work and unfair practices. It is to their advantage to bring recalcitrant members of the industry into line because otherwise the entire industry would suffer. The government itself will encourage this sort of procedure because it has insisted all along that the NRA should allow industry to govern and regulate itself as much as possible.

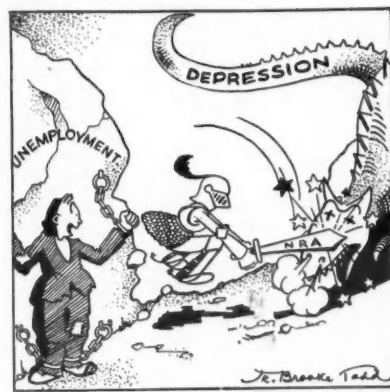
Compliance Boards

Should the trade association fail to bring violators into line, there are local compliance boards to which the matter might be referred. While these boards were set up in September to act in cases of reported violation of the president's blanket code, their authority might easily be extended to cover the specific codes. They have been created in all parts of the country and each committee is composed of six members. Two members represent labor, two the employers, one represents the consumers' interests and the sixth member handles legal problems connected with interpretation and application of the law. The members of these compliance boards were selected by a committee composed of members of various local organizations including the Chamber of Commerce, Retail Merchants Association, Manufacturers Association, labor organizations, Federation of Women's Clubs and the Bar Association. Their original powers included the handling of complaints of violation of the blanket code and the granting or rejection of petitions for exemptions to the president's agreement. There is no reason why their functions could not be expanded to meet the requirements of the permanent codes.

In case of their failure to effect a satisfactory settlement, the national headquarters of the NRA would have to step in. At the moment, there is no division au-

thorized to handle such matters. For that reason, it is expected that the reorganization plan now under consideration by General Johnson will include the creation of such a department presided over by a national director of compliance. The director would be able to apply all the legal authority placed in the hands of the government by Congress when it enacted the recovery measure in order to act against "chiselers." The most stringent of these measures is the application of the licensing system by which no organization would be permitted to carry on business without obtaining a license and any organization guilty of code violation would have its license revoked.

Two definite steps looking toward the strengthening and expansion of NRA machinery have recently been taken. Both of them deal with agencies existing within the framework of the recovery administration. The Industrial Advisory Board, under the chairmanship of Walter C. Teagle, has recently expanded its activities by appointing a number of new members. The principal duty of this board is to assist business men in the drawing up of their codes and to interpret the various provisions for them. It has invited industrialists to submit their various problems, many of which are complicated, in order that they may receive advice and counsel. By keeping in close contact with the various industries the Industrial Advisory Board is better able to judge the many reactions to the whole NRA program and to act as a link between private business and officials of the recovery administration. It is ex-



JOHNSON LAUNCHES NEW RE-EMPLOYMENT DRIVE

pected that a great deal will be heard of this agency in the future developments of the NRA.

Consumers' Interests

The membership of the Consumers Advisory Board has now been enlarged to seventeen. Without doubt, this is one of the most useful organizations within the NRA. Its primary function is to protect the interests of the great consuming public during the process of code-making and

(Concluded on page 2, column 4)

Something to Think About

1. Do any of your acquaintances belong to a labor union? How many unions are there in your city? Are they craft or industrial unions? What arguments can you think of for the craft union and for the industrial union? *Radical workers are more likely than conservative workers to favor the industrial form of unions. Is this statement true? Explain why or why not.*
2. Has there come within your personal observation any instance of the displacement of human labor by machinery? If so, what happened to the workers who were displaced? What reasons are there for thinking that technological unemployment may be a more serious problem in the future than it has been in the past?
3. Tell why you do, or do not, consider the thirty-hour week a satisfactory solution of the problem of technological unemployment.
4. What position relative to disarmament is taken by Germany? by France? Do you think that you would take the same position if you were a German or a Frenchman? *Write out briefly the summary of a disarmament plan which you would suggest if you were a member of the arms conference.* What nations, if any, would probably support such a plan? What nations would oppose it, and why?
5. Account for the fact that labor troubles are more frequent in a period of recovery than in one of business decline.

6. What provision is made for the enforcement of NRA codes? What kind of problems arise in the work of enforcement?
 7. Explain the statement that our country will be "half dry and half wet" following the repeal of the prohibition amendment. What problem will that situation bring up? What solution is suggested by the committee appointed to study that question? Do you think it a wise plan? Why, or why not?
 8. What authority does the federal government have to take action in a kidnapping case?
 9. How has the Ainsworth High School adapted its courses to the needs of the students in its community? Do you think such a plan is wise?
- TIMELY TOPICS:** (a) The Crisis in Relief. *Nation*, October 11, 1933, pp. 400-402. (b) Revolution in the U. S. A. *Survey Graphic*, October, 1933, pp. 491-493. (c) Ten Years of the Turkish Republic. *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1933, pp. 141-155. (d) The Navy Looks Over the Next One. *New Outlook*, October, 1933, pp. 26-29. (e) Soldiers of the Soil. *Travel*, October, 1933, pp. 20-23.
- PRONUNCIATIONS:** Alejandro Lerroux (ah-lay-hahn'droe lay-roo'—Catalonian pronunciation); Manuel Azaña (Man-oo-ell' ah-thah'nya); Cortes (kor-tez'); Niceto Alcalá Zamora (nee-thay'toe al-ka'la tha-mo'ra—th as in thing); Barrios (bar-ree-os'—o as in go, s as in sight).